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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the social and economic changes that took place in the northern states of Siam - a tributary of the Kingdom of Siam in the nineteenth century - examined mainly through the roles and activities of three foreign groups present there between 1867 and 1910. These were the Presbyterian missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions, the European teak traders, and the Chinese traders from Bangkok. It demonstrates too the political implications of the changing scenario which provided the occasion for the central government to extend its control over the northern states.

Chapter One outlines the political and economic scenario in 19th. century Siam; it especially attempts to explain the nature of the relations between a tributary state and its sovereign ruler.

Chapter Two discusses the geography, ethnicity, politics, economy, and commerce of the northern states of Siam - essential for an understanding of developments which occurred within the period under study.

Chapter Three deals with the arrival of the Presbyterian missionaries in Siam, the events leading to the inception of the Laos Mission in Chiang Mai, and the problems arising from the interaction between the missionaries and the northern ruling class as well as the attendant political consequences.

Chapter Four concentrates on the work of the Laos Mission *vis-a-vis* the introduction of a Western-type education for both girls and boys, the provision of modern medical

facilities and the establishment of a printing press leading to the publication of books in northern Thai, Siamese and English - all of which contributed significantly to social change in northern Siam.

Chapter Five focuses on the coming of the European teak traders and the problems which emerged between them and the northern ruling class leading to the signing of the Chiang Mai treaties of 1874 and 1883 and, eventually, the establishment of the Royal Forest Department in Chiang Mai in 1896.

Chapter Six discusses the economic link between Bangkok and Chiang Mai, which superseded the previously popular Chiang Mai-Moulmein trade. It also deals with the role of the Chinese retail traders from Bangkok which constituted an important factor contributing to the increasing volume of trade between Bangkok and Chiang Mai.

Concluding Remarks provides a summary of the main thrust of the thesis followed by a brief survey of existing academic studies on northern Siam in order to emphasize the fact that the present study looks at northern Thai history from a different perspective.

ABSTRAK

Tesis ini mengkaji perubahan sosio-ekonomi yang berlaku di negeri-negeri Siam utara - yang pernah berada di bawah naungan kerajaan Siam pada abad ke- 19. Diantara jangkamasa 1867 dan 1910, terdapat tiga golongan 'asing' yang hadir di kalangan penduduk negeri-negeri Siam utara. Tiga golongan ini adalah golongan mubaligh Presbyterian yang mewakili Persatuan Board of Foreign Missions (BOFM) dari Amerika, diikuti oleh pedagang-pedagang kayu jati Eropah dan pedagang Cina dari Bangkok. Melalui peranan dan aktiviti mereka, tiga golongan ini telah mewujudkan pelbagai perubahan sosio-ekonomi di negeri-negeri Siam utara. Disamping perubahan sosio-ekonomi, kegiatan tiga golongan ini telah juga membawa implikasi politik. Aktiviti-aktiviti mereka secara tidak langsung telah mewujudkan peluang bagi kerajaan pusat di Bangkok untuk meluaskan pengaruh politiknya ke atas negeri-negeri naungan Siam utara.

Bab Satu menjelaskan struktur politik dan ekonomi di Siam pada abad ke-19: tumpuan diberi kepada aspek hubungan di antara penaung (Raja di Bangkok) dan negeri di bawah naungan (iaitu negeri-negeri Siam utara).

Bab Dua membincangkan geografi, komposisi etnik, politik, ekonomi dan perdagangan di negeri-negeri Siam utara pada abad ke-19 supaya perubahan-perubahan yang berlaku dalam jangkamasa kajian dapat difahami dengan lebih jelas.

Bab Tiga menghuraikan kedatangan golongan mubaligh Presbyterian ke Siam dan seterusnya menjelaskan peristiwa-peristiwa yang membawa kepada penubuhan Laos Mission di Chiang Mai. Masalah yang wujud akibat interaksi di antara golongan mubaligh dan kelas pemerintah negeri-negeri Siam utara serta implikasi politik pertembungan ini juga dibicarakan.

Bab Empat memberi tumpuan kepada kegiatan-kegiatan yang dijalankan oleh ahli-ahli Laos Mission di Chiang Mai. Antaranya, pengenalan pendidikan ala Barat bagi wanita dan lelaki, pengenalan kemudahan perubatan moden dan kemudahan percetakan. Buku-buku dalam bahasa Thai utara (bahasa Lan Na), Thai (bahasa bahagian tengah Siam) dan Inggeris diterbitkan oleh unit percetakan Laos Mission.

Bab Lima memberikan fokus terhadap kedatangan pedagang-pedagang kayu jati Eropah. Masalah yang timbul akibat pertembungan di antara pedagang-pedagang ini dan kelas pemerintah negeri-negeri Siam utara antaranya telah membawa kepada termeterinya Perjanjian Chiang Mai 1874 dan 1883 dan seterusnya penubuhan jabatan perhutanan diraja atau The Royal Forest Department pada tahun 1896 di Chiang Mai.

Bab Enam membincangkan hubungan perdagangan di antara Bangkok dan Chiang Mai yang semakin popular dan seterusnya menggantikan hubungan perdagangan di antara Chiang Mai dan Moulmein.

Bab Rumusan memberikan ringkasan intipati utama tesis ini dan diikuti oleh satu analisa umum kajian-kajian akademik berkaitan negeri-negeri Siam utara. Tujuan analisa ini adalah untuk menegaskan hakikat bahawa tesis ini mengkaji sejarah negeri-negeri Siam utara dari perspektif yang agak berbeza.

PREFACE

My exposure to Thai history throughout my primary and secondary school education was limited to a knowledge of the great reforms introduced by two of Siam's great monarchs, Mongkut and Chulalongkorn. And I am almost certain that this is the case with most Malaysians.

The past three years of my having undertaken the present study and having spent about eight months, between June 1992 and July 1994, in Thailand has been a most enriching and fulfilling experience. My sojourn there enabled not only the collection of data for my study, but also gave me a first hand insight into Thai society. I enjoyed, immensely, being a member of a Thai household while I was in Bangkok in June 1994 and the exposure to various aspects of Thai society, including its history, art, culture and literature. Needless to say, my perspective of Thai historiography and Thai society is clearer now.

I wish to thank the many individuals who assisted the collection of materials for this study in Thailand. First and foremost is Dr. Lysa Hong of National University of Singapore, who introduced me to the Payap Archives in Chiang Mai, and consequently, led me in the right direction. In Chiang Mai, I was fortunate to have received help and guidance on source materials from Dr. Ratanaporn Sethakul (then Acting Director of the Archives) and *Achan* Herbert Swanson. I am also thankful to Dr. Ronald Renard of the Payap University and Dr. Rujaya Abhakorn of the Chiang Mai University, who not only

offered valuable suggestions on manuscript sources on northern Siam but also loaned me some of these (in the form of microfilms) from their personal collection.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Lee Kam Hing of the Department of History, University Malaya for his critical comments and useful suggestions, which improved the original presentation of this study.

I am particularly grateful to Prof. Khoo Kay Kim, also of the Department of History, University Malaya for helping me obtain materials from the Guildhall Library in England and for having constantly reminded me to "immerse in everything Thai"; to Prof. Shahril Talib of the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, University Malaya and Mdm. Yumiko of the Toyota Foundation for having had faith in my topic and consequently awarding me a generous research grant; to Prof. Yusoff Hashim and members of the Department of History, University Malaya for the award of tutorship and the financial assistance that came with it; and to *Khru* Anchana Pholwattana Pestana, my Thai language tutor for having patiently taught me to read, write and speak Thai as well as for the friendship that has developed between us.

I would also like to record my deep appreciation of my gracious host in Bangkok, Dr. Niyapan and husband Dr. Panom for their kind hospitality, especially to the former for her cheerful company; and Dr. Chatthip Nartsupha and his wife for having taken a keen interest in my work and for sharing my enthusiasm for the study of the port of Bangkok.

To *Khun* Wanwipha of the Thai Khadi Research Centre; *Khun* Arissa Lertpruk of the Payap Archives; staff of the National Research Council of Thailand (NRCT); staff

of the National Archives of Thailand and numerous other people who helped with the research in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, I would like to say *khob khun mak kah*.

My sincere thanks are also due to the staff of the University Malaya Library for numerous help with primary and secondary literature; to the librarian and staff at the Seminary Theology Malaysia for assistance with materials pertaining to Christianity and missionary activities in Thailand; to Ms. Katherine Anderson for translating into English, passages relevant to my study from a French source; and to Ms. Parames of Institut Pengajian Tinggi (IPT), University Malaya for her assistance with the maps.

Finally, I am certain that, nothing would please my family more than to see the completion of this study. To them goes my love and heartfelt gratitude for their constant support and encouragement.

NOTES

PERIODIZATION

Sukhotai : 1238-1378 A.D

Ayutthaya : 1350-1767 A.D

Thonburi : 1767-1782 A.D

Bangkok : 1782 - present.

CHRONOLOGY

Chunlasakkarat (C.S) or Lesser Era of the Burmese : (+ 638 = A.D)

Phutthasakkarat (P.S) or the Buddhist Era : (- 543 = A.D)

Rattanakosinsok (R.S) or the Bangkok Era : (+ 1781= A.D)

MONEY

The standard unit of the Thai currency is the baht but often called tical by westerners.

At the 1850 rates: 2 baht = Sp. \$ 1.00.

In northern Siam, the common currency was the Indian rupee while in southern Siam, the common currency was the Straits Dollar.

WEIGHTS

Salt and rice were measured according to the coyan.

1 coyan = 25 piculs.

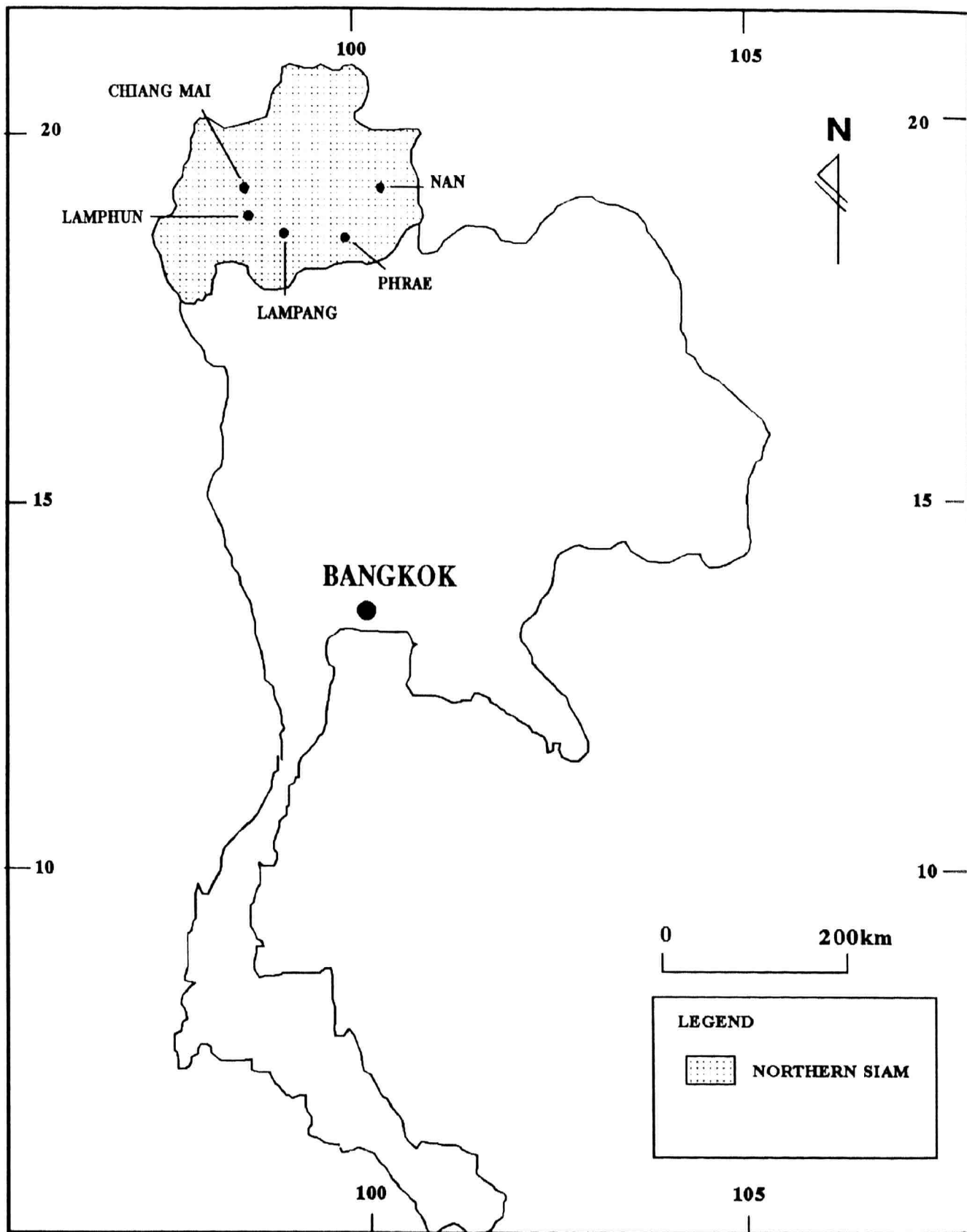
MEASUREMENTS

The standard unit of measurement for land is the rai.

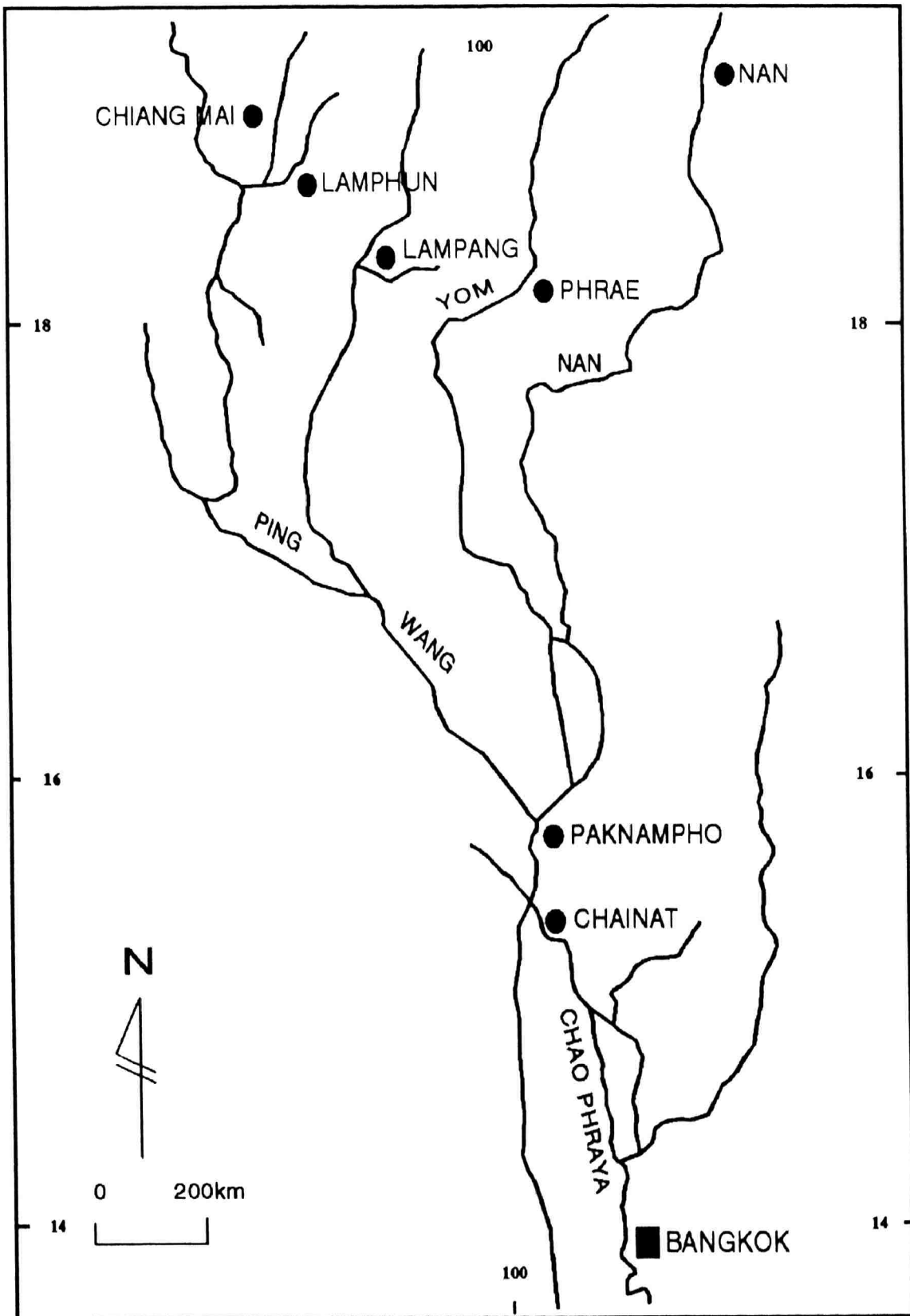
1 rai = 0.4 acres.

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

- BCR - British Commercial Reports
- BOFM - Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Society, New York
- C.O. - Colonial Office Records
- DUSCB - Despatches of the United States Consuls in Bangkok.
- F.O. - Foreign Office Records, Public Record Office
- JAH - Journal of Asian History
- JASB - Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal
- JAS - Journal of Asian Studies
- JMBRAS - Journal of Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society
- JBRs - Journal of Burma Research Society
- JSEAS - Journal of Southeast Asian Studies
- JSS - Journal of the Siam Society
- NCP - North Carolina Presbyterian
- NA - National Archives, Bangkok
- NL - National Library, Bangkok
- SOJOURN - Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia



MAP 1: SIAM AND THE NORTHERN TRIBUTARY STATES



MAP 2: THE FIVE NORTHERN STATES ALONG THE CHAO PHRAYA'S NORTHERN TRIBUTARIES.

INTRODUCTION

Scope of Study

The nineteenth century in the history of Siam is an important period - important because it witnessed major political and economic transformation. Change, for example, occurred at all levels of Siam's administrative hierarchy: the central, provincial and tributary.

On the international front, growing European economic expansion into the Southeast Asian region persuaded the Siamese court to recognise the need to use tact and diplomacy when dealing with Westerners. The importance of acquiring new ideas from the West as well as the study of English was emphasized from the time of King Mongkut's reign. The Siamese bureaucracy, in response to the need to develop a system akin to the European model of a modern state, became increasingly more centralized and the traditional loose administrative structure was eventually replaced.

The Bowring Treaty, signed between Siam and Britain in 1855, was the start of a series of economic changes. The Treaty extracted trade concessions from Siam and claimed for Western nations extra-territorial rights. It was the beginning of increasing demands from European countries for greater participation in Siam's economy. The major economic changes which took place during the decades following the signing of the Treaty, however, had little immediate impact on the northern (*pak Nua*) and north-eastern (*pak Isan*) parts of Siam.¹

In Thai historiography, Siam's enlightened monarch, King Chulalongkorn, and his *krom* (ministry) of Young Siam (ruling elite), have gained renown for the political reforms they introduced. The King envisioned the establishment of a financially sound central administration to ensure that his plans of a modern state could take off. A revision of the state administration followed. Top on his list of priorities was the elimination of inefficiency and corrupt practices in his government. This he endeavoured to achieve by the establishment of a Ministry of Finance which would be able to monitor closely all income and expenditure of the state.

There had been, reportedly, widespread embezzlement of state funds in the past and this wasted and reduced state resources. Provincial officers failed to draw a distinction between private and state monies; state revenues were quite often kept for personal use. This was a problem that troubled the King greatly as it underlined the weakness of the central government. Furthermore, it exposed Bangkok's tenuous control over its provincial officers. Some of the officers and chiefs of the provinces acted on their own accord with little regard for the central government. There was also fear that the foreign nations might take advantage of Bangkok's loose control over the provincial and peripheral areas to encroach on these areas, politically and economically. It was primarily to deal with these problems that a policy to centralize the bureaucracy was adopted.

But to implement King Chulalongkorn's reforms required a large expenditure, hence the need for additional revenue. The methods employed to obtain more money, unavoidably, led to changes, both administrative and economic, in the existing structure of the government. So far, scholars have given a fair amount of attention to the study of changes that took place in the central part of Siam. But less is known about the other areas of the country, especially the north and the north-east.

It may be asked whether change occurred uniformly and broadly throughout Siam or that it occurred, gradually, from the centre outwards, and as a result of the initiative of the court. It could be argued that, without the introduction of reforms by the central government, change could not have been effected in places outside the central region. It is intended here to look at the process of change in the peripheral region and its link with the centre by using northern Siam, specifically the five *muangs* (states/principalities) located at the river basins of the Chao Phraya's tributaries in the north, as a case study.

Present day northern Siam comprises the states of Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, Mae Hong Son, Chiang Rai and Phayao. The first five *muangs* are located in the basins of the Chao Phraya's tributaries in the north. Chiang Mai and the smaller Lamphun are located in the valley of the Me Ping, Lampang on the Me Wang, Phrae on the Me Yom and Nan on the Me Nan. In the nineteenth century, Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae and Nan were tributary states of the Kingdom of Siam. Chiang Mai was an important trade centre and the residence of the *Chao luang* who was the most influential of the rulers of the northern tributary states.

As a trade centre, Chiang Mai was the first to receive, in most instances, political, economic and social changes, followed by the other tributary states. At the start of the twentieth century (1900), the five tributary states were incorporated into Siam as one of the eighteen *monthons* (circles) in the *thesaphiban* or the centralized system of provincial administration. This division was first called the *monthon fai tawantok chiang nua* or the North-western Circle. Later it became known as *monthon Phayap*, with Chiang Mai as the capital. In this study, the terms "northern Siam" and "northern states of Siam" are inter-changeably used to refer to the five northern tributary states of Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae and Nan.

It will be demonstrated in this study that, between 1867 and 1910, three foreign groups played a crucial role in bringing about socio-economic changes to the northern states of Siam. The first were the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions whose members arrived in Chiang Mai in 1867. The second foreign group were the European teak traders. The third group which was considered foreign, namely, the Chinese traders from Bangkok, through their retail activities, likewise brought change to the economy of the north.

The Chinese will be discussed, firstly, in terms of their impact on the Ho, Shan and northern Thai caravan traders and, secondly, their role in the growing economic links between Bangkok and the northern region. The existing materials, in so far as it has been possible to ascertain, speak primarily of the Chinese in terms of their retail trade in the north. But there is a paucity of information on the Chinese as a community there.

It will be argued here that socio-economic developments, brought about by the three foreign groups, created the environment and the occasion which prompted and enabled Bangkok to take steps to extend its control into the northern region. In other words, these developments took place at a time when Bangkok, particularly under Chulalongkorn, was anxious to centralize and to extend control over the politics and economy of northern Siam for security and economic reasons but had not as yet made any concerted or effective move to do so.

This study, to reiterate, will focus on the activities of the missionaries, the teak traders and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese retail traders in the northern states of Siam; it will examine the extent to which their presence, activities and interaction with the locals led to socio-economic changes. It will, at the same time, attempt to study the reaction of the suzerain ruler in Bangkok towards these developments in the north.

Notes on Sources

A variety of primary sources have been used in this study. Among the most important are those found at the National Archives of Thailand, namely, documents under the Ministry of Interior or the *Mahatthai* (M) series and the Foreign Affairs (T) or *Tang Prathet* series. Most of these documents were from the fifth reign, classified as *Ratanakosin 5* (R.5).

The British Foreign Office Records under Series F.O. 69 at the Thai Khadi Research Institute at Thammasat University, Bangkok, have also been examined. Annual Commercial Reports from Britain's Consul in Siam, abbreviated in this thesis as British Commercial Reports (BCR) are available at the National Archives. These reports have been photocopied from the original source, the British Parliamentary Papers. The reports which were referred to in this study date from 1863 to 1912. Those for the years 1865 to 1869 are classified as Commercial Reports From Her Majesty's Consuls In China, Japan, and Siam. In the 1870's, they appeared as Commercial Report from Her Majesty's Consul General In Siam. From 1886, these annual reports began to appear under the heading of Diplomatic and Consular Reports On Trade and Finance and these comprised reports on the trade of Bangkok (representing Siam). Later, from about 1889, a separate report for Chiang Mai was included in the Diplomatic and Consular Reports for Siam. To distinguish between references made to the Trade Report of Bangkok (Siam) and those from the Trade Report for the Consular District of Chiang Mai, the abbreviations BCR (Siam) for the former and BCR (Chiang Mai) for the latter are used in the end notes. Occasionally the reports also contained a sub-section attached for the states of Lampang (the old name Lakhon is used), Phrae and Nan.

Missionary-run newspapers such as the Bangkok Calendar and the Bangkok Recorder (available at ISEAS, Singapore), the North Carolina Presbyterian (January 1858-1897) and the Laos News (1904-1919), available at the Payap Archives in Chiang Mai, provide valuable information on the northern Thais which is often not available in the Foreign Office and Commercial Reports. Letters and annual reports submitted by the

missionaries of the Laos Mission in northern Siam to the Board of Foreign Missions in the United States are yet another useful but largely ignored source material on the northern Thais. These reports and letters (since obtained by the University of Malaya Library) appear under the abbreviation BOFM in this thesis.

Other missionary-run publications include the Siam Repository and the Foreign Missionary. The Siam Repository was a quarterly publication whose editor was Samuel J. Smith, a missionary with the Presbyterian Mission in Siam. The Siam Repository for the years 1869 to 1872 is available at the Thai Khadi Research Centre. The Foreign Missionary was published monthly by the Board of Foreign Missions (BOFM), Presbyterian Church in New York, U.S.A. Issues of the Foreign Missionary consulted range from Vol. 20 (1861) to Vol. 44 (1885-1886).

Missionary reports and correspondence were mostly written by foreigners who were then present in northern Siam. Missionary reports paid great attention to details about the northern Thais which escaped the eyes of the travellers and the British officers. Missionary documents on northern Siam span a long period of time and the information contained is very useful for an understanding of the northern Thai society. This is especially so in the absence of indigenous sources. A northern Thai scholar, Ratanaporn Sethakul, has acknowledged that "the major problem of the researchers in the local history of the northern states is that no local [northern Siam] documents are available; therefore, we have to rely heavily on the Bangkok and Western accounts".²

Missionary documents which come under the category of Western documents remain largely untapped historical source material. In the past, they were used mostly for the purpose of writing church history; as such their use is far from exhausted.

Secondary literature in the form of books written mostly by fellow missionaries also provide important background information on the northern Thai society. Numerous books on Christianity in Siam and northern Siam have been written. These include: Kenneth E. Wells, History of the Protestant Work In Thailand, Samuel McFarland, Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam, 1828-1928, Lillian Curtis, The Laos of North Siam and Daniel McGilvary, A Half Century Among the Siamese and the Lao.

McGilvary's autobiography is probably the most detailed account concerning the Laos Mission and its growth in Chiang Mai. Both Curtis' and McGilvary's accounts contain much valuable information on the northern Thais of the nineteenth century. In later years, more specific works on the church in northern Siam included Philip J. Hughes, Proclamation and Response: A Study of the History of the Christian Faith in Northern Thailand and Herbert Swanson, Khrischak muang nua: The Study of Northern Thai Church History. These accounts concerned themselves with various issues related to the development of missionary work in Siam, the role of the missionaries, and evangelisation in northern Siam.

In the introduction to Lillian Curtis' book, entitled The Laos of North Siam (1903), Robert E. Speer, then General Secretary of the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, wrote:

... far away from the currents of travel and intercourse, the Laos states [northern states of Siam] are practically unknown save to the lumber merchant and the missionary.³

Indeed, there is probably no better way to obtain a graphic picture of the little known states of northern Siam than to study the activities of the two groups who knew most and wrote quite considerably about this place in the nineteenth century.

This survey would be incomplete without a brief review of the more scholarly works on the northern states of Siam.

In more recent years, there has been a growing number of works written on northern Siam, most of them, however, have remained unpublished. In the light of the popular call to study a "regional type" as opposed to a "capital-centric type" history, these studies are of obvious significance. But, historical studies on northern Siam have tended to focus on political development and change. Rujaya Abhakorn, a scholar of northern Thai history and society, in his paper presented at a Seminar on Changes in Northern Thailand and the Shan States, in Chiang Mai, in 1983, remarked that:

In writing about the political history of northern Siam in the period that covers the great changes of the nineteenth century up to the Revolution of 1932, one feels he is walking on a path that has been well paved by scholars.⁴

The makers of this "political road" included, Rujaya pointed out, two categories of people - one category wrote in English and the other in Thai. Writers in English included Nigel Brailey, Ansil Ramsay and Tej Bunnag. Studies on the political history of northern Siam by Thai scholars, and written in Thai, included works by Saraswadee, Vanlapa, Nakhon and Prisana. Their works appeared at a time when it was felt that there was a great need for a more "autonomous" history⁵ of Southeast Asia.

In 1968, Nigel Brailey completed a dissertation entitled, 'The Origins Of The Siamese Forward Movement in Western Laos, 1850-1892'. The title itself suggests that Brailey's focus was on Siam (Bangkok) and how it moved forward into the western Lao region (part of present day northern Siam). Brailey first explained the historical background to western Lao-Siamese relationship and then in seven subsequent chapters dwelt on political changes in northern Siam and the eventual appointment of Prince Damrong as Minister of the North in 1892. That year (1892) marked the beginning of a new phase of a "radical centralization policy" and Brailey showed how the centralization policy affected western Laos (northern Siam).

Brailey's dissertation is one of the most often cited historical works on northern Siam. It is a comprehensive study of the politics of northern Siam with a chronological treatment of events leading to the political changes that took place in northern Siam. In his work, Brailey makes reference to the American Presbyterian missionaries at Chiang Mai. The teak industry is discussed too, largely, in terms of the problems that emerged

with increasing British interest in Siamese teak which was linked to the setting up of the first international court in Chiang Mai, aimed at settling disputes arising between British subjects and the northern *Chaos* on forest matters.

Ansil Ramsay's 'The Development of a Bureaucratic Polity: The Case of Northern Siam' was written in 1971. Ramsay's work adopts an "equilibrium-disequilibrium-equilibrium again" model. He dwells at great length on the teak industry and the demand put on the central government to tighten its control over the northern provinces. Apart from discussing the political changes that occurred in the northern states during the "disequilibrium" phase, Ramsay also touches on the subject of trade and economic development. A summary of these economic developments were given in the penultimate chapter covering less than eight pages.

Tej Bunnag appears to have taken his cue from Brailey. His study, originally a Ph.D thesis and subsequently published under the title The Provincial Administration of Siam, 1892-1915: The Ministry of the Interior under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, is a detailed account of the centralization process embarked upon by Prince Damrong Rajanubhap who became Minister of the North (two years later Minister of the Interior) in 1892, and held the post right up to 1915. Bunnag discusses the implementation of the *thesaphiban* system of provincial administration throughout Siam, paying attention to the subject of the integration of the tributary states and outer provinces into Siamese administration. The chapter which is particularly relevant to the present study is entitled "The Implementation of the Thesaphiban System of Provincial Administration". It deals quite substantially with northern Siam.

The bulk of the writings on the history of northern Siam have been undertaken by the Thais themselves. Most of these are in the form of Masters' dissertations written in Thai and submitted to the local universities. Such dissertations have also tended to focus on the subject of political relations and administrative reforms. This is particularly true of the Masters' dissertations written in the 1970's.

Pritsana Sirinam completed, in 1973, a Masters' thesis entitled 'The Relations between Thailand and the Tributary States in the North during the Early Bangkok period'. In 1974, Phornpon Chongvatana wrote on 'The Disputes of British subjects against the Chiefs of Chiang Mai Resulting in the Siamese Government taking over the administration of North West Siam [Payab Circle], 1858-1902'.

The administrative reforms in the northern states was indeed the favourite topic studied by the Thais. In 1975, Phromphong Na Chiang Mai completed a study on the 'Administrative Reforms in the Northern Lao Provinces in the reign of King Chulalongkorn before the Thesaphiban System'. Another dissertation on the same subject, by Vanlapa Kreuthienthong, entitled 'The Administrative Reforms of Lan Na Thai During the reign of King Chulalongkorn', was completed in 1976. Saraswadee Prayunsathien, in 1979, studied the 'Administrative Reforms of Monthon Phayap, 1893-1933'. Saraswadee later continued to write on the political history of northern Siam. Her article, entitled "The Process of Consolidating the Tributary States of Lan Na Thai (Northern Thai States) into the Central State, 1884-1933", published in 1981, in a Chiang Mai University Journal called the Warasan Sangkhomsat, highlights the

implementation of administrative reforms in the northern tributary states. Saraswadee's article is an excellent introduction to the subject of the incorporation of the northern states into Siam proper.

There was, however, an observable change in the trend adopted by Thai scholars writing on the history of northern Siam in the 1980's. Economic and judicial affairs began to receive some attention. Chusit Chuchat gave a useful insight into the economy of northern Siam. His work entitled 'The Evolution of Village Economy in Northern Thailand' was completed in 1981. In the same year, Ratanaporn Sethakul submitted a Masters' thesis on 'The International Court in the North of Thailand, 1873-1937'.

The economy of northern Siam with reference to the production of rice was the focus of Anan Ganjanapan's doctoral dissertation. In 1984, Anan Ganjanapan (an anthropologist by training), completed his work entitled 'The Partial Commercialization of Rice Production in Northern Thailand (1900-1981)'.

The year 1985 saw the birth of a study on the merchant class in northern Thailand. Plai-Auw Chananont wrote, in Thai, a Masters' thesis on 'The Role of Merchant Capitalists in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism in Northern Thailand, 1921-1980'. In 1987, this piece of work was published by the Social Research Institute of Chulalongkorn University under a slightly different title: Merchant Capitalists and the Origin and Growth of Capitalism in Northern Thailand, 1921-1980 (in Thai).

In 1988, Banasopit Mekvichai (a graduate from the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University) completed perhaps the only available comprehensive study, in English, of the teak industry in northern Thailand from an ecological and natural resource planning perspective. Her study, entitled 'The Teak Industry in North Thailand: The Role of a Natural-Resource-Based Export Economy in Regional Development', places emphasis on the effects of the extraction of teak (an important export commodity) on regional development (of the northern states of Siam in this case).

Towards the end of the 1980's, two doctoral dissertations, written by Thai scholars in English, were completed. In 1988, Vachara Sindhuprama completed a dissertation on the origins of modern education in northern Thailand. His dissertation, entitled 'Modern Education and Socio-Cultural Change in Northern Thailand, 1898-1942', demonstrates how education brought about social and cultural changes to the northern Thai society. Vachara pays credit to the missionaries for having laid the foundation of a system of public education in northern Siam.

In 1989, Ratanaporn Sethakul, no stranger to the world of scholarship on northern Siam, wrote her dissertation entitled 'Political, Social and Economic Changes In The Northern States Of Thailand Resulting From The Chiang Mai Treaties Of 1874 and 1883'. Ratanaporn discusses and compares the northern Thai society before and after the Chiang Mai Treaties of 1874 and 1883. Her study, like Vachara's (but unlike most of the studies at the Masters' level), tells us a great deal about the northern Thai society.

It is not confined to a study of their politics or how Bangkok's administrative reforms helped to incorporate these states into Siam proper.

In contrast to the focus on political development found in the writings of historical dissertations, anthropological dissertations on northern Siam encompass a wider spectrum. These works unavoidably whet the interest of anyone who wants to know more of the people, their economy, and the social conditions of that place. Most importantly, these works (mostly micro-studies) pay particular attention to the northern society, their ruling class and how both these groups adjusted to change which took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The writers drew their information largely from field work and oral interviews, both of which were supported by archival materials.

Among the many notable works on northern Siam written by anthropologists include, as mentioned earlier, Anan Ganjanapan's dissertation on the production of rice in northern Thailand. Apart from that, Kay Mitchell Calavan's 'Aristocrats and Commoners in Rural Northern Thailand' (1974), Suthep Soonthornpasuch's 'Islamic Identity in Chiangmai City: A Historical and Structural Comparison of Two Communities' (1977) and Katherine Ann Bowie's 'Peasant Perspectives On The Political Economy Of The Northern Thai Kingdom Of Chiang Mai In The Nineteenth Century: Implications For The Understanding Of Peasant Political Expression' (1988), are among the notable anthropological works on northern Siam.

The groundwork that has been laid by the studies mentioned above has been extremely useful to the present study. Arising from the references made to the two foreign groups present in northern Siam, namely the missionaries and the teak traders, and the occasional reference to the Chinese retail traders, was born the topic of research of the present study.

Indeed, most of the information contained in the present dissertation can be obtained elsewhere, partly in Thai and partly in English. The main difference between most of the above- mentioned historical dissertations on northern Siam and the present study is that the present work focuses on the foreign groups in northern Siam and their interaction with the northern people as well as the northern *Chaos* which, firstly, brought about social and economic changes to the northern Thai society and, secondly, created situations which were opportune for Bangkok to extend its control to the northern *huamuang prathetsarat* .

As mentioned previously, the historical writings on northern Siam in the past attracted two groups of scholars - the Europeans, who wrote in English, and the Thais who wrote mostly in Thai at the Masters' level as well as in English at the doctoral level. In 1969, Holden Furber, in an article entitled "Asia and the West as Partners Before 'Empire' and After" remarked that:

Only a handful of students in any Asian country have more than the most superficial knowledge of their neighbors. ... Knowledge of Asia within an Asian country still depends in too large a part on the use of English language materials prepared a quarter century or more ago.⁶

Since then there has been a growing number of Southeast Asian scholars working on their neighbours. Lysa Hong, a Singapore-born Chinese is an example of a Southeast Asian scholar who has crossed the political boundary in the pursuit of knowledge. Her authoritative work on the economy of Siam in the nineteenth century, using Thai and European sources, is testimony that Southeast Asian scholars have taken more than a superficial heed of Furber's comments. There are, of course, many other similar studies by Southeast Asian scholars of their neighbours, and this work, it is hoped, will be another contribution towards filling the gap in the writing of Southeast Asian History by fellow Southeast Asians.

- . Chatthip Nartsupha, Sethakit Muban Thai Nai Aditr [The Economy of Siam in the Past] Bangkok: Borisat Samnakpiem Sangoen Jamkad, 1990 (reprint), p. 53.
- . Ratanaporn Sethakul, 'Political, Social, and Economic Changes In The Northern States Of Thailand Resulting From The Chiang Mai Treaties of 1874 and 1883', Ph.D. thesis, Northern Illinois University, 1989, pp. 3-4.
- . Lillian J. Curtis, The Laos of North Siam, New York: Fleming H. Revel Company, 1903, p. vi.
- . M.R. Rujaya Abhakorn, "Changes in the Administrative Systems of Northern Siam, 1884-1933", in Prakai Nontawasee (ed.), Changes in Northern Thailand and the Shan States, 1886-1940, Singapore: Southeast Asian Studies Program, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988, p. 63.
- . John R.W. Smail, "On The Possibility Of An Autonomous History Of Modern Southeast Asia", in JSEAH, Vol. 2, 1961, pp. 72-102.
Autonomous history to scholars working on Southeast Asia meant to some degree the shift in focus from the activities of the Europeans to the people of Southeast Asia.
- . Holden Furber, "Asia and the West as Partners Before "Empire" and After", in JAS, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1969, p. 721.